



# THE KEYNOTER



**"A Nation Mourns"**

**Memorial Items from the Death of Presidents**

**Al's Brown Derby • Political Cartoons • Socialist Party Locals**

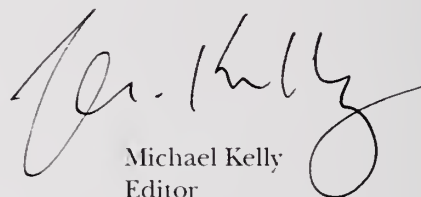
## Editor's Message

First off, I should apologize to any APIC members who find this issue a tad depressing. Death is a touchy subject, but one we all must face. Each of us confronts this event in our own lives, but when a President dies it becomes a national event. Many of us can recall the precise place where we heard of John Kennedy's death. The deaths of presidents like Lincoln, Garfield, Grant and McKinley became part of the common fabric of our Republic.

When I first decided to devote an issue to the diverse memorial items inspired by these moments in our history, I was tempted to entitle it "Dead Presidents" (current street slang for money). Fortunately, my good wife's better judgement prevailed and I chose the more dignified title of "A Nation Mourns."

The "For the Newer Collector" feature continues with a tip of the hat to Al Smith's brown derby. Collectors and readers should feel free to send in suggestions for this fun feature. I'm sure many advanced collectors still enjoy seeing items brought together on a common theme.

Finally, once again Roger Fischer has a new book on the shelves – just in time for the holidays! The body of work from this scholar (including over a decade of editing *The Keynoter*) has done much to advance appreciation for the value of political ephemera.



Michael Kelly  
Editor



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APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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# THE APIC KEYNOTER

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**Illustrations:** The editor wishes to thank the following for providing illustrations for this issue: Stephen Cresswell, Roger Fischer, Thomas French, Theodore Hake, Chick Harris, John Koster, Thomas Slater and Edmund Sullivan.

**Covers:** *Front:* Black, white and gold booklet. *Back:* News photograph of John F. Kennedy, Jr. at his father's funeral.

## IN THE NEXT ISSUE



Newer items lead the way with one collector's choice for the best George Bush items from 1988 and 1992, local items about Hubert Humphrey and some interesting items about First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt.



# A Nation Mourns: The Death of Our Presidents

By Michael Kelly

The President of the United States fills a unique role in our national consciousness. Many countries have non-political heads of state or kings who can embody the spirit of the nation without being dragged into the combat of electoral politics. Not the U.S. President. Yet when each election is over, the nation rallies behind the winner and crowns him with a symbolic role as national unifier.

When death comes to a president, its impact rips through the social fabric. Individual Americans see themselves as having a personal relationship with the man in the oval office. The death of a president affects Americans as if it were a death in the family.

To date, only eight presidents have died in office; four through illness and four through assassination. Illness struck down William Henry Harrison, Zachary Taylor, Warren Harding and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The assassin's bullet cut short the lives of Abraham Lincoln, James Garfield, William McKinley and John F. Kennedy. Lincoln was killed at the age of fifty-six, Garfield at forty-nine, McKinley at fifty-eight, and Kennedy at forty-six.

William Henry Harrison was the first American president to die in office. His was also the briefest administration in history. The election of 1840 had been one of the

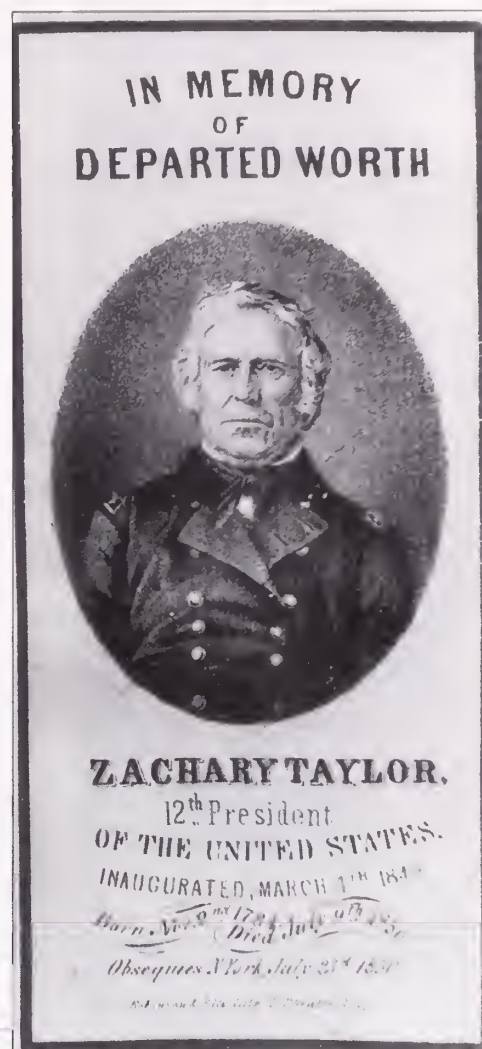
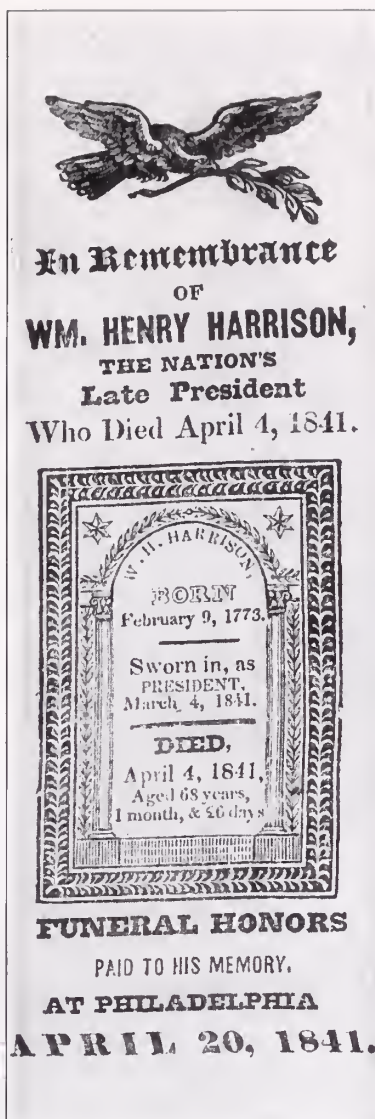
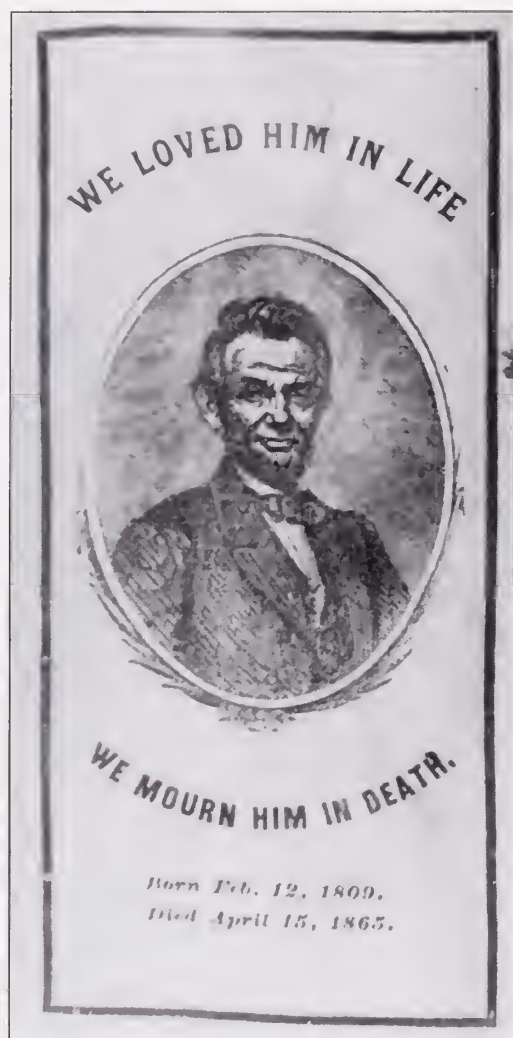
most exciting in the young Republic. The long dominant Democrats had been overthrown by a boisterous Whig campaign marked by songs, slogans, log cabins, hard cider and popular enthusiasm. The incumbent, President Martin Van Buren, was successor to the heritage of the legendary Andrew Jackson but Old Hickory's magic was no match for Harrison's grassroots campaign.

The victorious Harrison arrived in Washington on his sixty-eighth birthday, making him the oldest man ever inaugurated president. On Inauguration Day – March 4, 1841 – Harrison ignored the bitter cold that marked the day, described in Freeman Cleaves' *Old Tippecanoe*. "A chilly northeast wind nipped the extremities of the shivering multitude yet Harrison stood there bareheaded and without gloves or overcoat, his address one hour and forty minutes long." Three weeks later, again exposed to the elements during a Winter rainstorm, he took to bed with what was thought to be a severe cold. On Sunday, April 4, 1841, one month to the day after becoming president, William Harrison died.

The death of Harrison shook the nation and left its mark in more than a dozen known versions of memorial ribbons bearing sentiments like "A Grateful Nation's




Memorial ribbons for William McKinley,  
William Henry Harrison  
and John Fitzgerald Kennedy.



Four Presidents have been assassinated: Abraham Lincoln, James A. Garfield, William McKinley, John F. Kennedy.



**IN  
MEMORY  
OF**



**WM. H. HARRISON,  
9th President, U. S.**

**WHO DEPARTED  
THIS LIFE,  
APRIL 4TH, A. D.  
1841,  
AGED 68.**

**Universally Lamented.**


*"I desire you to understand the true principles of the Government. I wish them carried out. I ask nothing more."*



**GEN. WM. H. HARRISON,  
Late President of the United States**

Born at Berkley, Charles City Co. Va. Feb. 9, 1773.  
DIED at Washington City, D. C. April 4, 1841.  
Aged 68 Years.

*"Sir,--I wish you to understand the true principles of the Government. I wish them carried out. I ask nothing more."*  
(Dying words of Harrison)



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Feb. 9, 1773,  
Inaugurated March 4, 1841,  
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**PRESIDENT  
GEN. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.**

*Born Feb'y 9, 1773; Died April 4, 1841.*

**We mourn our Nation's loss.**

After one of the most exciting presidential campaigns in American politics, William Henry Harrison ("Old Tippecanoe") died barely a month after his inauguration. His was the shortest presidency in history.



Mournful Triumph," "A Nation Mourns A Hero Gone" and "We Mourn Our Nation's Loss." Harrison's death was also a political setback to the Whig Party. When the first Whig president died, he was replaced by Vice President John Tyler, a disaffected Democrat chosen to attract Democratic votes. Within a month of gaining presidential power, the Whigs had lost it.

The next time the Whigs managed to elect a president, it was eight years later with Zachary Taylor in 1848. Like Harrison, "Old Rough and Ready" Taylor was a general. Like Harrison, he died in office. This time the Whig President lasted sixteen months, but on July 9, 1850, "Old Rough and Ready" decamped for that great bivouac in the sky. Once again the nation mourned. Never again would a Whig be elected president.

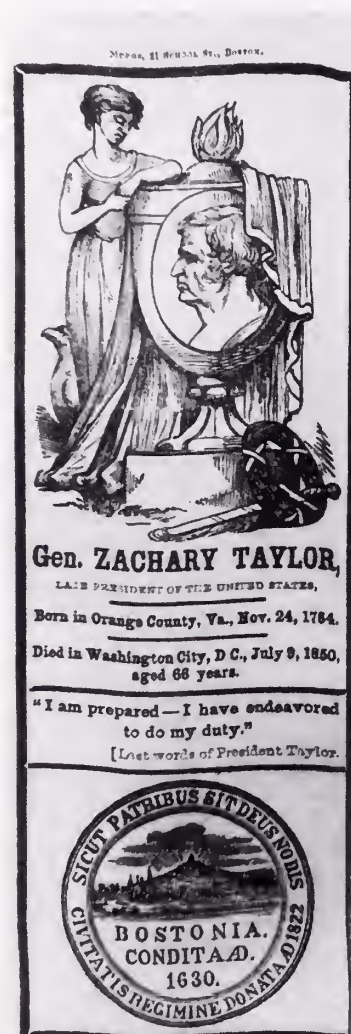
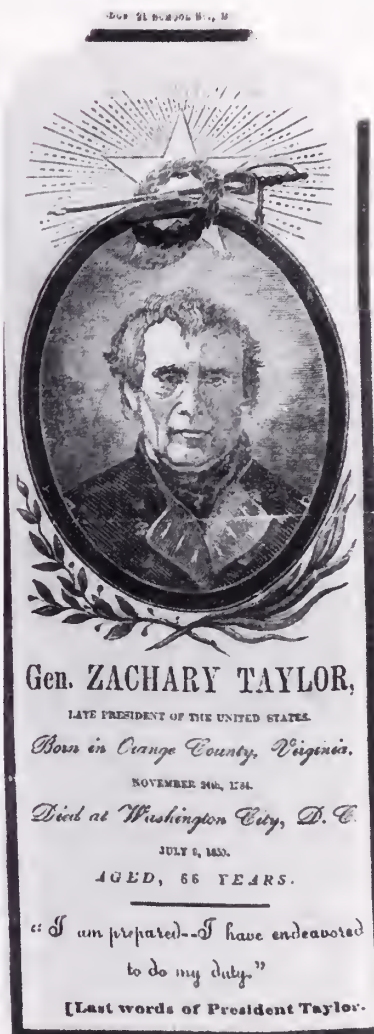
There are seven known Taylor memorial ribbons, all pictured in Sullivan and Fischer's *American Political Ribbons and Ribbon Badges*. "In Memory of Departed Worth" reads one; "The Nation Mourns A Patriot Gone" reads another.

Although the deaths of Harrison and Taylor distressed the nation, the next presidential death would still res-

onate a century later. After steering a nation through the bloodiest war in its history, Abraham Lincoln became the first American president to be assassinated. The shooting of Lincoln on April 14, 1865 and his death the following day became an event of almost mythical stature in America. When later presidents met the same fate, Lincoln's image reappeared. His picture appeared with Garfield on prints, with McKinley on buttons and with Kennedy on fans. Sullivan and Fischer have identified over fifty different memorial ribbons. Scores of prints and other images memorialize this most heartbreaking of losses.

One year after Lincoln's death, Congress adjourned for a day to honor his memory. The congressman chosen to make the motion for adjournment was Rep. James Garfield of Ohio. In his remarks, Garfield stated, "Such a life and character will be treasured forever as the sacred possession of the American people." Within sixteen years, Garfield was himself to become just such a sacred possession of the American people.

Garfield's narrow victory over Democrat Winfield Hancock in 1880 demonstrated that the power of Lincoln and The Union was still strong enough to carry a victory.



Imagine how the poor Whig Party loyalists felt when they finally elected another president after the unfortunate experience with Harrison. Sad to say, President Zachary Taylor died in office too. American voters never again elected a Whig president.



THE  
NATION  
MOURNS!



OUR CHIEF  
HAS  
FALLEN!

APRIL 15, 1865.



NATIONAL  
DAY OF MOURNING

June 1st, 1865.



Died April 15th, 1865.



"I wish all Men to be Free."

A Nation's Loss.



DIED APRIL 15, 1865.

IN  
Memory  
OF OUR  
President.



TO DAY  
IS FIRST  
IN THE HEARTS  
OF HIS  
COUNTRYMEN.

NATIONAL  
DAY OF MOURNING,  
JUNE 1st, 1865.

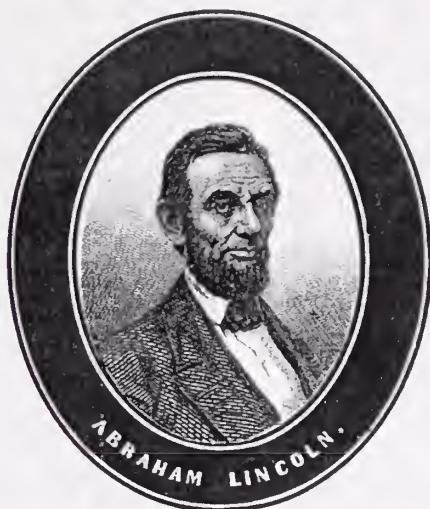


"With Malice towards none,  
with Charity for all."



**VETERANS' UNION.****BOSTON CIRCLE.****National Day of Mourning****JUNE 1st, 1865.**

"With Malice towards none,  
with Charity for all."

**IN MEMORIAM****Born February 12<sup>th</sup> 1809****Died April 15<sup>th</sup> 1865.**

**JOHN WILKES BOOTH.**  
**The Assassin**

**Massachusetts****VOLUNTEERS****MEXICO.**

1847

WE MOURN THE CHIEF

WHO HAD

"CHARITY FOR ALL,  
MALICE TOWARDS NONE"**Head-Quarters, Army of the Potomac,***April 16th, 1865.***General Orders, {  
No. 15.**

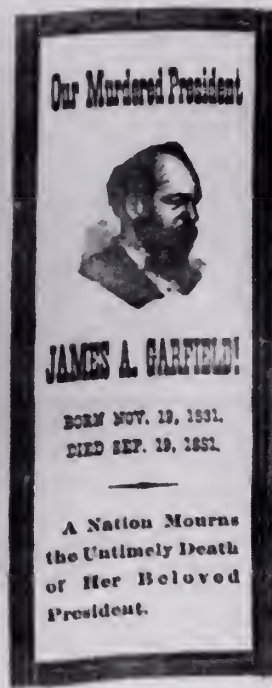
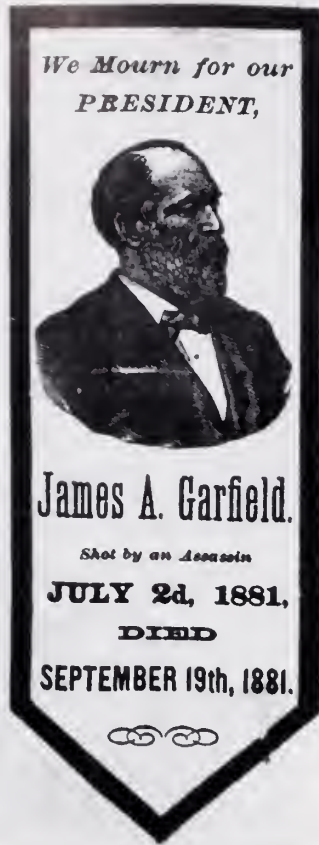
The Major General Commanding announces to the Army that official intelligence has been received of the death, by assassination, of the President of the United States. The President died at 7.22, on the morning of the 15th instant.

By this Army, this announcement will be received with profound sorrow, and deep horror and indignation. The President by the active interest he ever took in the welfare of this Army, and by his presence in frequent visits, especially during the recent operations, had particularly endeared himself to both officers and soldiers, all of whom regarded him as a generous friend.

An honest man, a noble patriot, and sagacious statesman has fallen! No greater loss, at this particular moment, could have befallen our country. Whilst we bow with submission to the unfathomable and inscrutable decrees of Divine Providence, let us earnestly pray that God, in His infinite mercy, will so order, that this terrible calamity shall not interfere with the prosperity and happiness of our beloved country!

**GEO. G. MEADE,***Major General Commanding.*

The loss of a commander-in-chief as a war is being won has a powerful impact - particularly on the soldiers. Lincoln and FDR both died at such times.



President Garfield headed an administration continuing two decades of uninterrupted Republican rule. On July 2, 1881 – after less than five months in office – a frustrated office-seeker stalked the President at the Baltimore and Potomac railroad depot in Washington and shot him as he stood next to Secretary of State James G. Blaine.

Death did not come quickly to President Garfield. He lingered for eleven weeks as physicians' repeated attempts to remove the bullet brought on an infection. On September 19, 1881, President James Garfield of Ohio died.

The Garfield administration was the second shortest in American history. Only Harrison's thirty days was shorter.

Even as Garfield's political career ended, that of another Ohio Republican was blossoming. In 1876, William McKinley had been elected to Congress on a ticket headed by his fellow-Ohioan Rutherford B. Hayes. Twenty years later, he won the White House in the critical Gold versus Silver election of 1896.

During McKinley's first term, America had what Teddy Roosevelt called "a splendid little war" with Spain. Victory over the faded European power gave America a world empire and McKinley a new running mate for 1900, Teddy Roosevelt. The McKinley-Roosevelt ticket won a solid victory. Republican leader Mark Hanna, who disliked the new vice president, advised President McKinley, "Now it is up to you to live."

On September 6, 1901, President McKinley was in Buffalo, New York to visit the Pan-American Exposition. While handshaking his way through the crowd, an anarchist fired two bullets at close range into his body. McKinley died less than a week later, on September 13, as Vice President Roosevelt raced a buckboard through the dark, down rough mountain roads, in an attempt to reach his side.

For the first time, the death of a president could be proclaimed on a celluloid button. McKinley's death—the first of a war president since Lincoln—inspired a wide popular response. The sentiments expressed on celluloid buttons were, of necessity, more concise than the flowery sentiments found on ribbons. Many just pictured the late President in black with the words "In Memoriam." Others, however, reflected the detailed imagery possible in the heyday of celluloids. There were buttons draped in mourning cloth, buttons picturing McKinley and his wife, buttons showing the building "Where our President fell."

There is even a memorial button for McKinley's first vice president, Garret Hobart, who had died during McKinley's first term.

Having already laid the sacrifices of Garfield and McKinley on the altar of freedom, the state of Ohio continued to dedicate its sons to the nation's service. Between 1896 and 1923, three of the five presidents came from Ohio. After Teddy Roosevelt came William Howard Taft, then Woodrow Wilson was followed by Warren G. Harding.

Once again, Ohio Republicans were to bury a president. Elected in a landslide, President Harding was widely popular with his countrymen. Nominated as a compromise choice for president at a 1920 Republican National Convention deadlocked between three popular hopefuls (Leonard Wood, Frank Lowden and Hiram Johnson),





ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD.

Harding benefited from modest expectations. He seemed an apt president for a period of postwar prosperity and practicality. He went to the heart of Dixie and gave a brave speech about the evils of lynching. He went camping in the woods with Henry Ford and Thomas Edison. People liked President Harding.

Unfortunately, he made some poor cabinet choices and found himself at the head of a scandal-ridden administration. Harried and disillusioned, he took a trip to the West Coast to relax. In San Francisco, on July 28, 1923, President Harding collapsed after receiving a coded telegram from Washington. Five days later he was dead. Despite an outpouring of popular sadness, the scandals surrounding his administration resulted in far fewer known Harding memorial items than for Garfield and McKinley. Harding was replaced by Calvin Coolidge, whose presidency would be marred by the death of his son, Calvin Coolidge, Jr.

The next president to die in office was Franklin Delano Roosevelt. As with Lincoln, the fact that FDR had been a wartime president whose death coincided with the nearing of victory made the impact of his death more intense. FDR had led the nation from the depths of the Great







This group of McKinley memorial buttons (shown at reduced size) first appeared in the Fall 1984 Keynoter issue on the 1900 election. McKinley's death coincided with the widespread use of celluloid buttons, resulting in a rich selection of such items.





Depression to the triumphs of world victory. American voters had granted him the first – and only – third term ever given a president and then added a fourth term as well. On April 12, 1945, less than three months after his fourth inauguration, Franklin Roosevelt died.

It is interesting to note that there is not an abundance of FDR memorial items. Despite numerous campaign ribbons, Sullivan and Fischer record not a single FDR memorial ribbon. Perhaps it was a matter of wartime shortages; it certainly was not for lack of grief. An outpouring of national mourning is evident in the publications of the day. For decades afterward, pictures of Roosevelt continued to grace the walls of homes across the country.

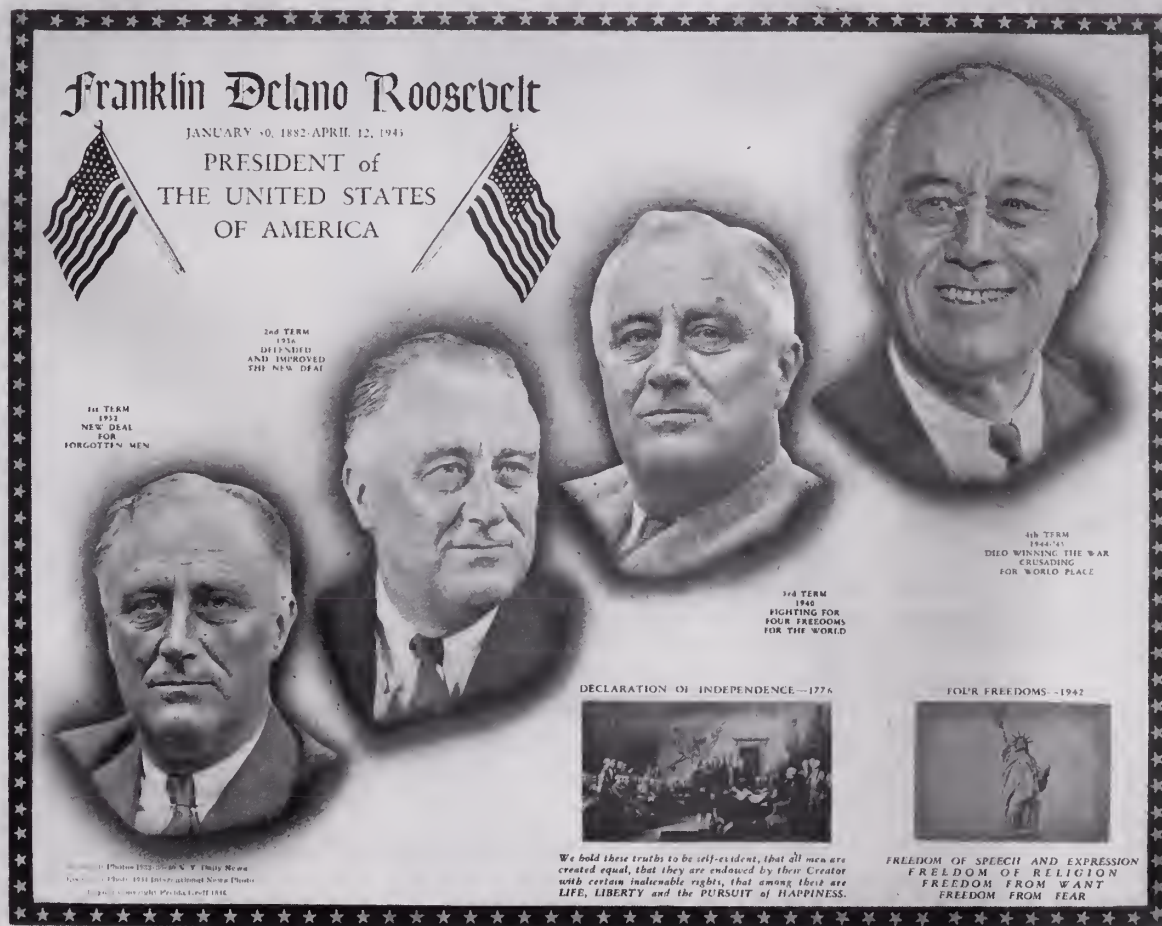
After Roosevelt came Truman. The next Democrat in the White House would be a young man from Boston named Kennedy.

The current generation had its turn with the searing experience of death reaching into the highest office of the land on November 22, 1963, when a bullet ended the life of John F. Kennedy. Kennedy memorial items are, of course, the easiest to obtain. JFK memorial imagery has become an icon of the modern era in America. Perhaps most powerfully in familiar black and white news photographs or in the frames of a grainy amateur film, the assassination of President Kennedy is a defining moment for a generation.

Our era has known its share of assassins. After Jack Kennedy came Bobby Kennedy, Martin Luther King and Malcolm X. Ronald Reagan and George Wallace were shot and attempts were made on Gerald Ford. It is a sad certainty that some day again, Americans will don black ribbons and buttons which read "A Nation Mourns."★



3 1/2" Button



# Even Hopefuls Die

By Michael Kelly

It may be true that hope never dies, but the same cannot be said about presidential hopefuls. They, too, die and their deaths strike a national chord as well. No presidential hopeful ever quite matches the impact of a successful presidential candidate, but that doesn't mean that the millions of citizens who cheered his name and wore his buttons were unmoved at the news of his death.

The disappointment of electoral defeat appears to have been a cause in the decline of several hopefuls, while others went on to years of contentment and satisfaction. Most notable, perhaps, are William Howard Taft and Charles Evans Hughes. Both Taft and Hughes were defeated in races for the White House but went on to become chief justices of the Supreme Court. Both men found the calm halls of the judiciary far more pleasant than the battlefield of politics.

But there were those for whom defeat was the beginning of the end of their lives. Stephen Douglas died less than a year after his loss to Lincoln. Wendell Willkie took his defeat by Tom Dewey in the 1944 Wisconsin primary hard and would be dead before election day. Perhaps the saddest such story is that of yet another progressive New York Republican, Horace Greeley.

Horace Greeley was a newspaper publisher who became one of the founding fathers of the Republican Party, nurturing it from a concept and giving it its name. He advocated for Fremont and rejoiced over the victory of Lincoln. But when the administration of President U.S. Grant began to totter into corruption (and, cynics might note, refused to take orders from Greeley's editorials), Greeley broke with the Republicans. He and other early leaders of the GOP (like Carl Schurz and Charles Sumner) founded the Liberal Republican Party to challenge Grant's re-election hopes in 1872 without having to go so far as supporting the distasteful Democrats.

The Liberal Republicans met in Cincinnati, Ohio to nominate a presidential candidate. The leading

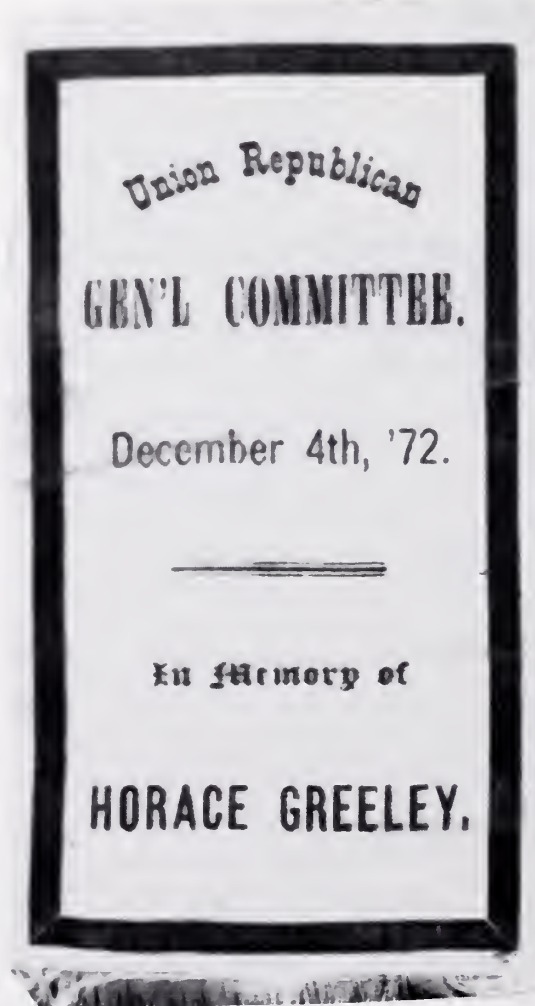
contender was Charles Francis Adams, son and grandson of presidents. But the Adams bandwagon lost its steam and — much to the nation's surprise — the Liberal Republican nomination went to Greeley. The Democrats, still smarting from their association with secession and slavery, reluctantly endorsed Greeley.

Greeley took to the campaign trail with fervor. At a time when it was still considered unorthodox for a presidential candidate to actually campaign for votes, Greeley barnstormed the country. He gave hundreds of speeches before large crowds, calling for peace and forgiveness between North and South. "Let us clasp hands over the bloody chasm," he pleaded, conveniently ignoring the plight of African-Americans trying to create successful lives in a hostile South.

Greeley believed that he would win. He saw his cause as moral and just. When President Grant won an easy victory, Greeley was crushed. Three weeks after the election, on November 29, 1872, Horace Greeley died. Sullivan and Fischer's book on ribbons contains a solitary mourning ribbon from a Union Republican General Committee event held on December 4th to honor his memory.

There are other known memorial items for earlier hopefuls. The death of Kentucky's Henry Clay inspired several handsome ribbons, including one with the somewhat unsettling plea, "May his memory be embalmed in the hearts of his countrymen." The great orator and hopeful, Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, inspired great public mourning upon his death and a ribbon reading "A Nation Mourns A Nation's Loss."

The Albany Typographical Union #4 issued a memorial ribbon when Stephen Douglas died and we can be assured that items for many other hopefuls were produced, if not preserved. It is sad that the names of hopefuls are often forgotten. Who knows how many items honoring the passing of presidential hopefuls never survived to present times?★



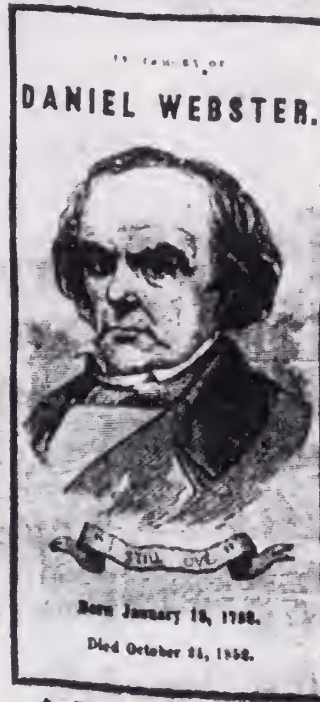
**Horace Greeley was the only presidential nominee of the short-lived Liberal Republican Party. He died shortly after losing the 1872 election to Ulysses S. Grant.**



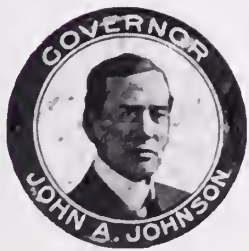


## BRIGHTON.

A NATION MOURNS



## The Nation Mourns: John A. Johnson



As the race for the 1908 Democratic presidential nomination began, a front running figure was the popular Governor of Minnesota, John Albert Johnson. With Teddy Roosevelt having promised to step down in 1908, Democrats felt that they had a fine chance to win back the White House. Johnson support was evident in many states and Johnson buttons began to appear.

His unexpected death shattered the Democratic field and left it open for William Jennings Bryan to grab yet a third nomination. Although all memorial material for presidential hopefuls is scarce, there are several handsome buttons picturing Gov. John A. Johnson with the affirmation that "The Nation Mourns."

# Our Late Commander

By Michael Kelly

A Chinese proverb states that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." Certainly military service is a very common theme among our presidents and presidential hopefuls.

General William Henry Harrison drew his core of support from the veterans of his military campaigns. General Zachary Taylor, General Ulysses Grant and General James Garfield were chosen for the presidency because of their records as military leaders. Lincoln, McKinley and Roosevelt were wartime presidents who had led the nation's military as commanders-in-chief. Jack Kennedy's record as a war hero in World War II was an essential part of his political advancement. Of those presidents who died in office, only newspaper publisher Warren Harding could not claim military honors. Other presidents from George Washington to George Bush were noted for their bravery and leadership in war.

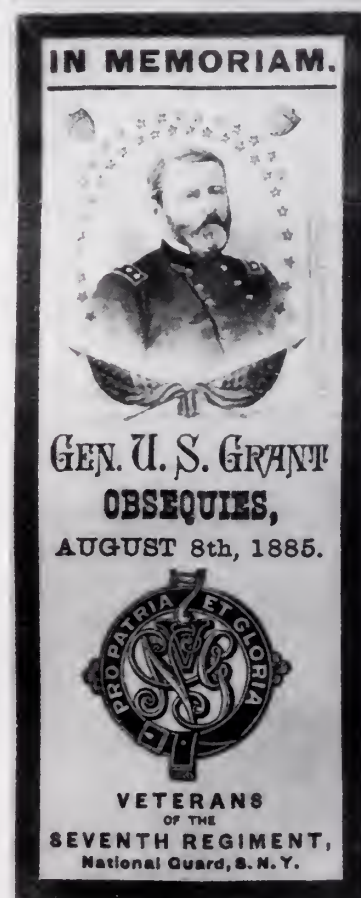
In each war, successful soldiers are promoted for the White House. The Revolutionary War provided Washington, the War of 1812 yielded Winfield Scott. The Mexican-American War aided Zachary Taylor and Franklin Pierce to the White House. The Civil War produced numerous presidents and presidential hopefuls. Even in 1896, McKinley was boosted as having been a major. The Spanish-American War inspired a presidential

boom for Admiral George Dewey and advanced the political career of Teddy Roosevelt. World War I fostered a General Pershing for President campaign and World War II produced President Eisenhower.

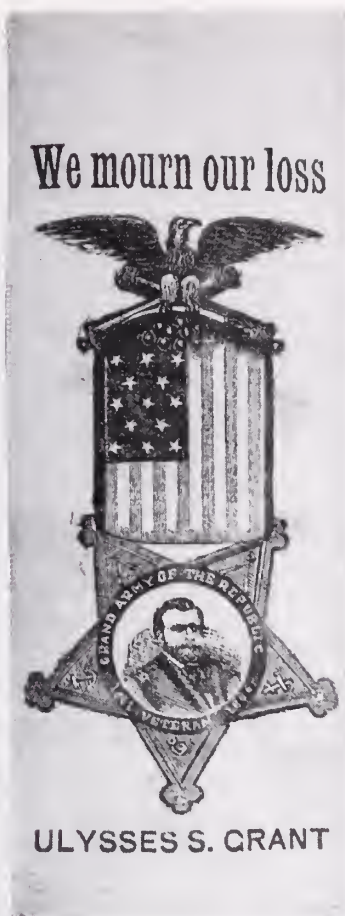
Military veterans have always had a special relationship with the President. More than any other citizens, active members of the uniformed services pledge to obey his orders, even to the point of risking their lives. Having themselves confronted death, perhaps veterans are more attuned to its power and meaning.

Many memorial items were issued by veterans' organizations. Ribbons for former generals like Harrison, Taylor and Grant often celebrate their military service without even mentioning the fact that they had been elected President. One of the most common images on memorial ribbons for Lincoln, Grant and Garfield is the five pointed star of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), the huge organization of Civil War veterans.

It is clear that the nature of national mourning leans heavily on military ceremonies. Honor guards stand around the casket. Across the nation, flags fly at half mast. In the funeral procession, the casket is preceded by a horse with an empty saddle and at the gravesite, the haunting notes of "Taps" echo in the air.★











The impact of Lincoln's assassination was so strong that it was often invoked when other presidents died.





# Our Fallen Hero: The Death of General Grant

By Michael Kelly

Ulysses S. Grant is a tragic figure in American history. He was a failure at almost every job he ever tried, except war. It is hard for us to fully understand the grip Grant had on the American imagination after the Civil War. It is important to remember that the early years of that conflict were marked by a steady series of Union defeats and rebel victories. It seemed as if Northern generals didn't know how to fight. General after general was placed at the head of the Union army and those that weren't too cautious to risk a battle, usually lost it.

The one exception was Grant. Grant fought. Grant won. He didn't make elaborate speeches, he made firm statements like "I will fight it out on this line." The battles were brutal, bloody and victorious.

When politicians complained to President Lincoln that General Grant was a drunkard, the president replied that they should find out what Grant was drinking and he would send it to all his generals. After Lincoln's assassination, the nation instinctively turned to Grant and elected him president in 1868. Unfortunately, Grant may have been a great soldier but he was a mediocre president. In the loose climate of postwar boom, the Grant administration proved seriously flawed. Nonetheless, America ignored a revolt in his own party and easily re-elected him to a second term in 1872. So powerful was the stature of Grant that, despite his failures as president, he was still a serious contender for an unprecedented third term in 1876.

After leaving office, Grant ran into more than his share of trouble, much of it financial. As his health failed, he found himself in a desperate race with death to complete his autobiography in the hope that his *Memoirs* would provide his family with some modest income. With the aid of Mark Twain, Grant began writing in 1884 and, even as his final days approached, continued to push himself to complete the project.

In *The General's Wife*, Ishbel Ross described Grant's final days;

" 'Grant is dying,' the *New York World* proclaimed on March 1. But with Joblike patience the General went on with his work. Letters and telegrams poured in on the family. Army clubs and loyal leagues sent messages to the ailing warrior...Jefferson Davis sent a friendly message...Rutherford Hayes and Robert Lincoln were among his callers.

"No invalid ever saw his march to the grave more clearly defined than Grant, day by day, step by step. He insisted on reading the newspapers and no one could stop him. He analyzed them and separated the true accounts from the false. None knew better than he what was actually going on in his workroom. None knew so well the involutions of pain.

"But on April 18 he appeared at the bay window, wearing his smoking cap, and saluted the U.S. Grant Post of the GAR as they walked past to do him honor...he stood at attention on his birthday, April 27, when the 7th regiment of the New York National Guard marched past in full dress...But he kept on dictating, sometimes as much as ten thousand words a day."

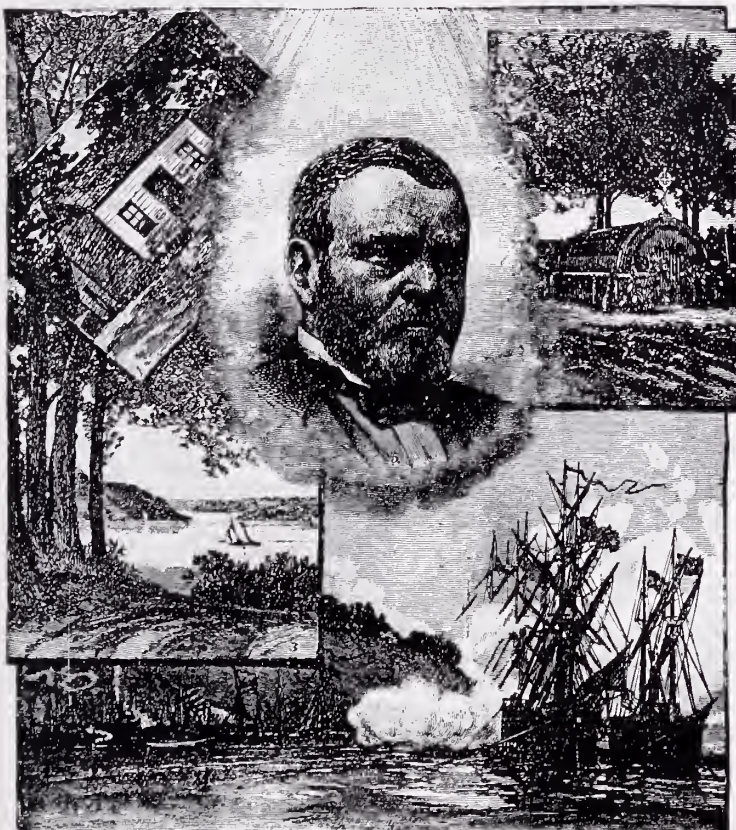
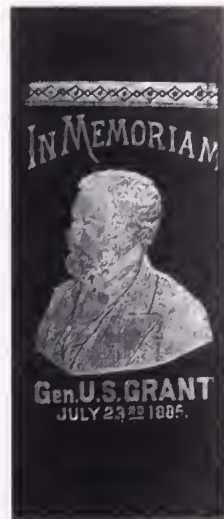
Grant held on for months, even moving with his family to the country for the summer. On July 16, 1885 he finally finished the book. A week later he was dead.

His funeral was held in New York City on August 8. The city hadn't seen such an outpouring of grief since Lincoln's assassination. Twenty-four black horses drew the casket. *The New York Times* described the scene:

"Broadway moved like a river into which many tributaries were poured...There was one living mass choking the thoroughfare from where the dead lay in state to the grim gates at Riverside open to receive him...From Fourteenth Street to the top of the hill - pavements, windows, curb, steps, balcony, and housetop teeming...All walls and doorways were a sweep of black..."

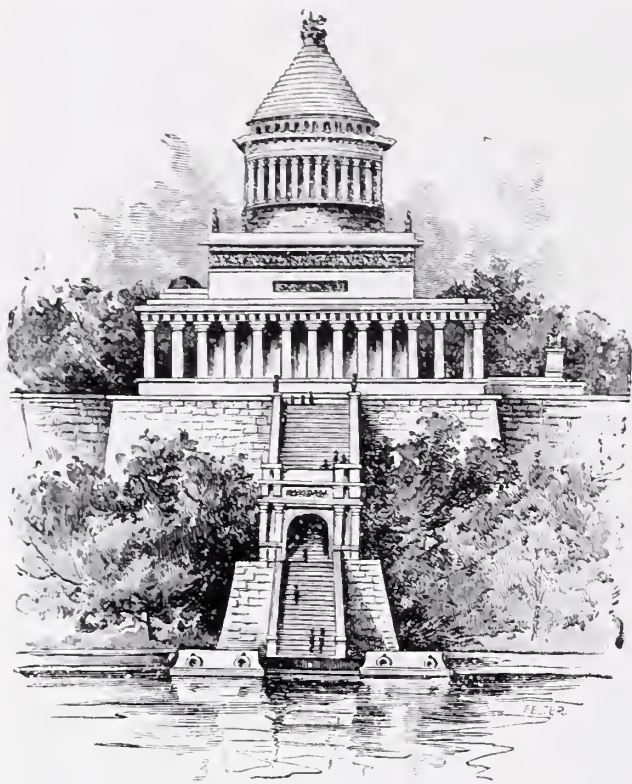
The four pallbearers were two Confederate generals and two Union generals. Three presidents (Cleveland, Hayes and Arthur) were in attendance. Even the hardened General William Sherman broke into tears at the sound of taps.

Today Grant's tomb is a neglected monument, frequented by winos and defaced by graffiti. But on that day in 1885, there was no news more meaningful than the fact that Grant was dead and the nation in mourning.★



1. BIRTHPLACE OF GENERAL GRANT. 2. HIS TOMB IN RIVERSIDE PARK, NEW YORK CITY. 3. VIEW FROM RIVERSIDE PARK, LOOKING NORTH. 4. FLEET FIRING SALUTE IN THE HUDSON RIVER ON THE DAY OF HIS FUNERAL.

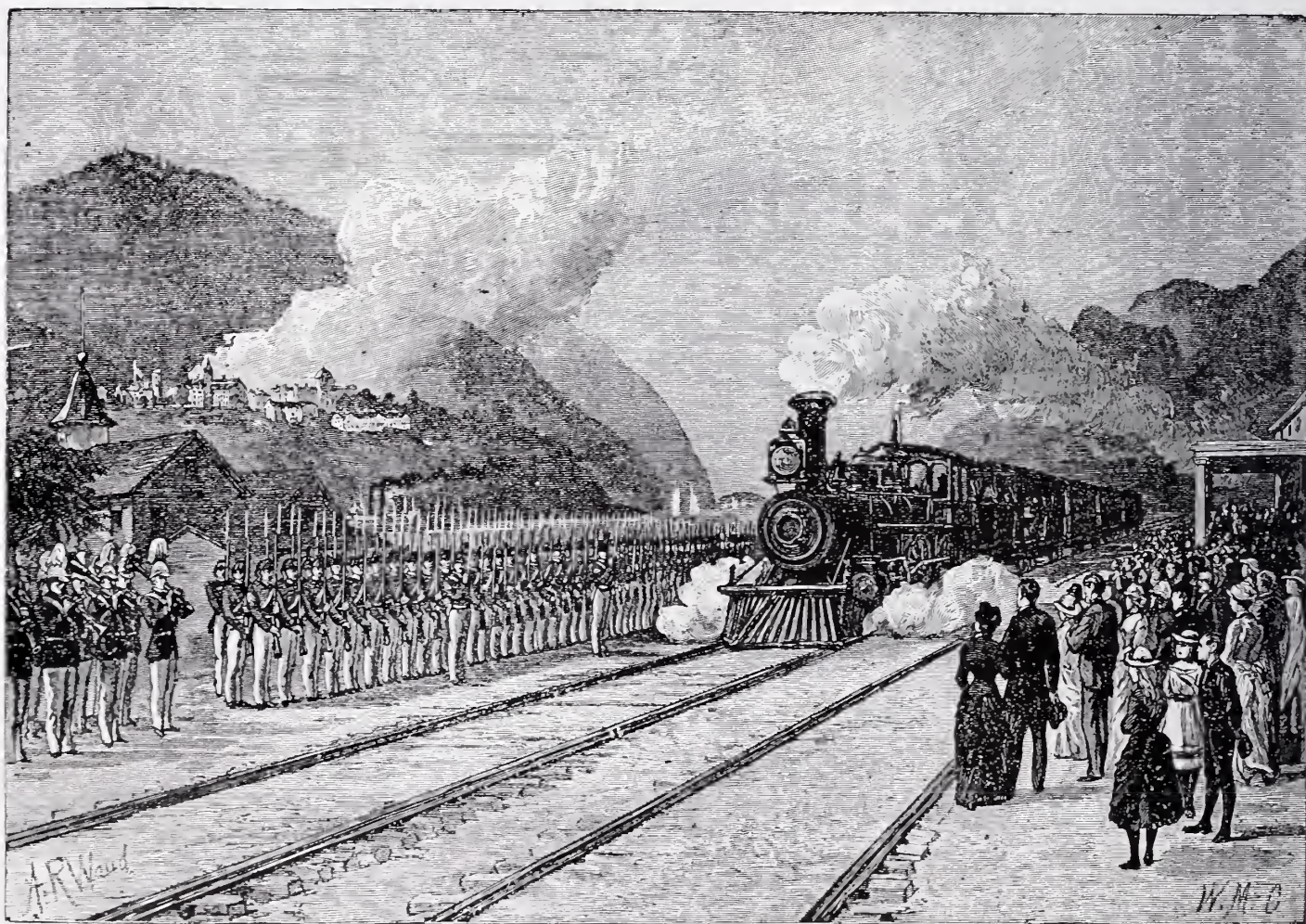




GRANT'S TOMB AT RIVERSIDE.

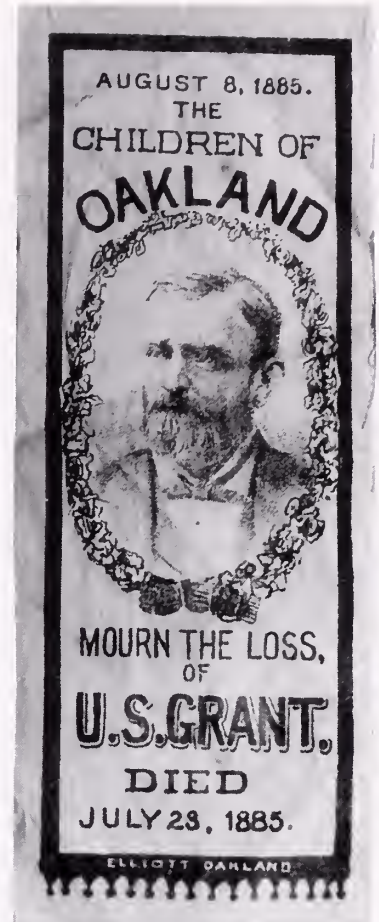
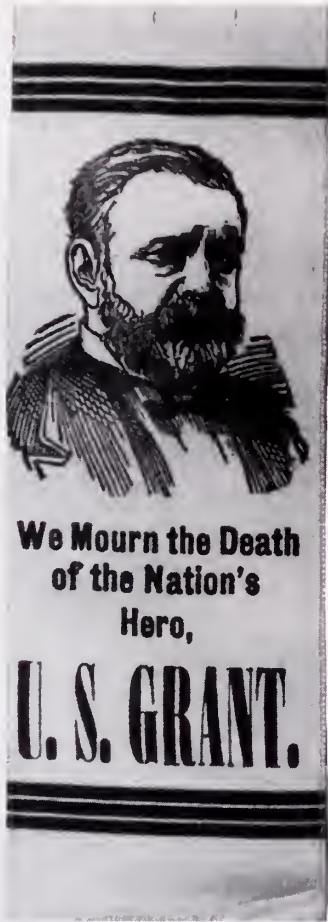


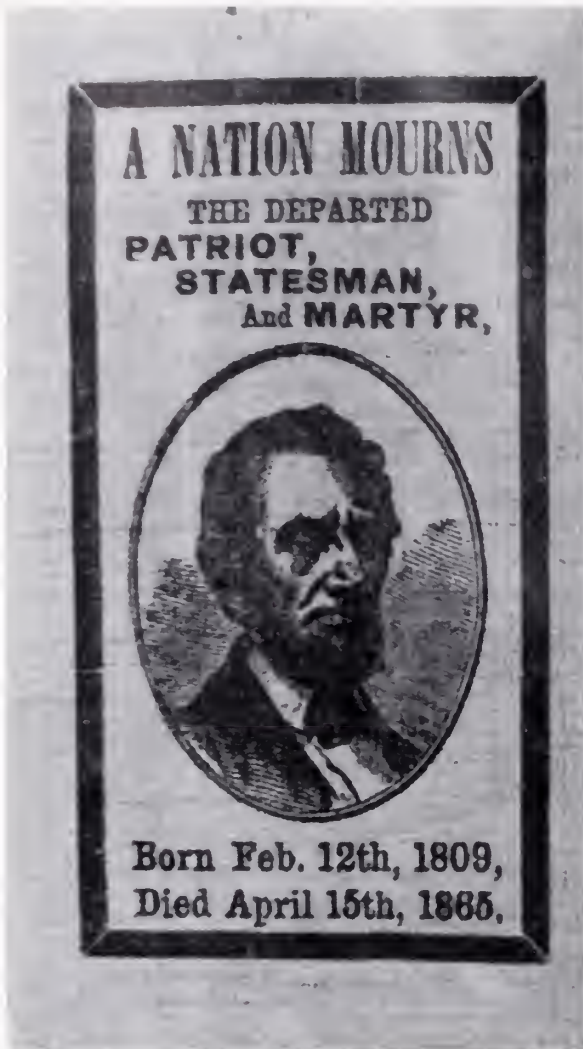
GRANT'S TOMB (INTERIOR).



THE FUNERAL TRAIN BEARING GENERAL GRANT'S BODY PASSING WEST POINT







The death of a president – even a former president – is marked in a variety of ways, including buttons.

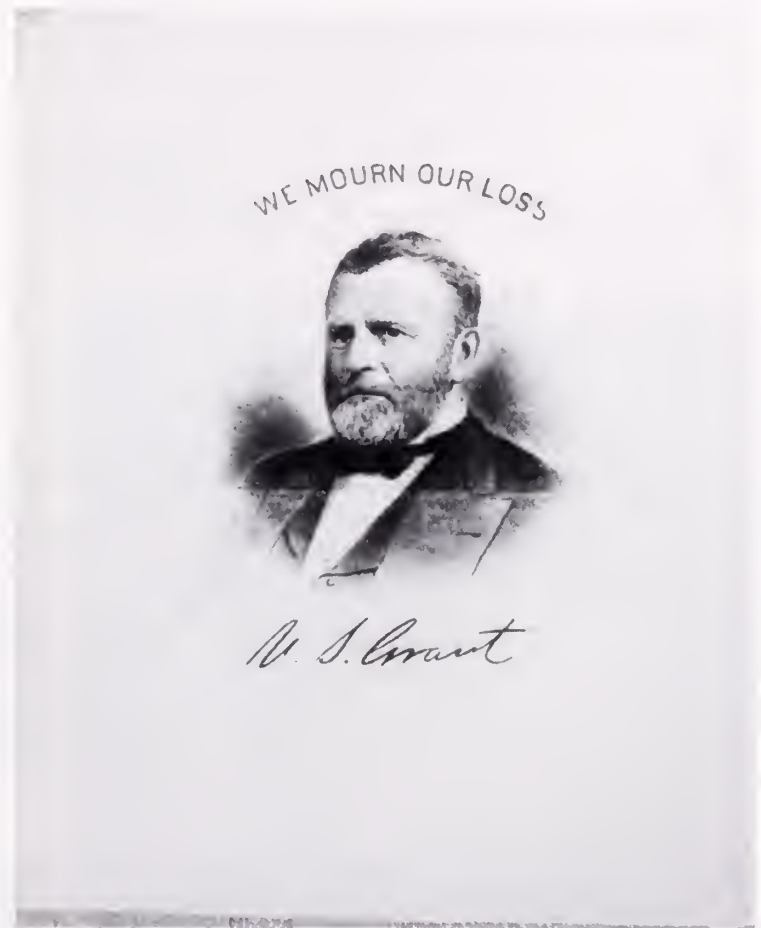
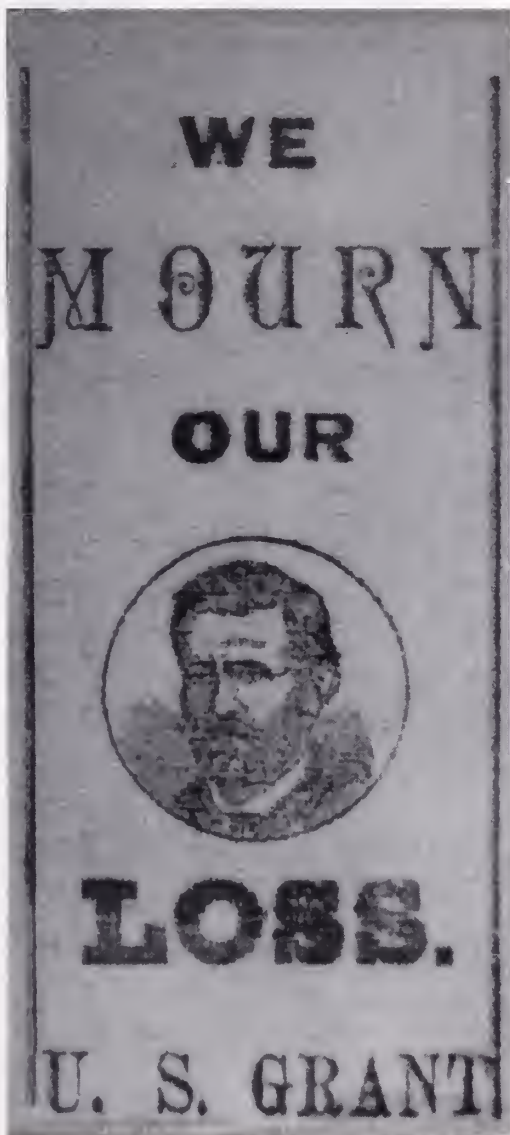




## The Adams/Jefferson Memorial Ribbons



Amidst the various accidents, illnesses and assassinations that brought death to America's presidents, no event is quite so amazing as the deaths of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. The two men – the Republic's second and third presidents – had both been intimately involved with the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776. Fifty years later to the day – July 4, 1826 – both Adams and Jefferson died. The event was commemorated in ribbons like that above.



Two handsome ribbons mourning President Grant.

## FOR THE NEWER COLLECTOR

# Al's Brown Derby

By Michael Kelly

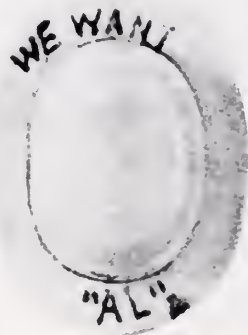
Hats have often had political symbolism. Supporters of Benjamin Harrison claimed he was just the man to wear "his grandfather's hat" in reference to President William Henry Harrison. President Lyndon Johnson's campaign buttons often carried a picture of his cowboy hat. Enthusiasts for Estes Kefauver wore coonskin caps on their heads and pictured on their campaign buttons. A score of presidents and hopefuls have posed for photographers wearing Indian war bonnets, Mexican sombreros and other colorful headgear.

But no presidential hopeful has ever been so identified with his hat as was "The Happy Warrior," Governor Al Smith of New York. Historian Paul F. Boller, Jr. summarized the 1928 campaign between Democrat Smith and Republican Herbert Hoover thus:

"There were two Americas in 1928's candidates: city and country. East and West, Protestant and Catholic. There were also two styles: Smith, informal, down-to-earth, expansive, wise-cracking; Hoover, austere, reserved, blunt, humorless. 'Al,' moreover, with his brown derby and big cigar, was a 'wet,' while the 'Great Engineer,' with his plain dress and severe manner, was 'dry.' The stage was set for an exciting - but dirty - presidential campaign."

All through the 1928 campaign Smith's familiar derby was found on buttons and pins. Despite his loss to Hoover, Smith remained a popular figure and saw his old political ally, Franklin D. Roosevelt, elected to Smith's New York gubernatorial seat.

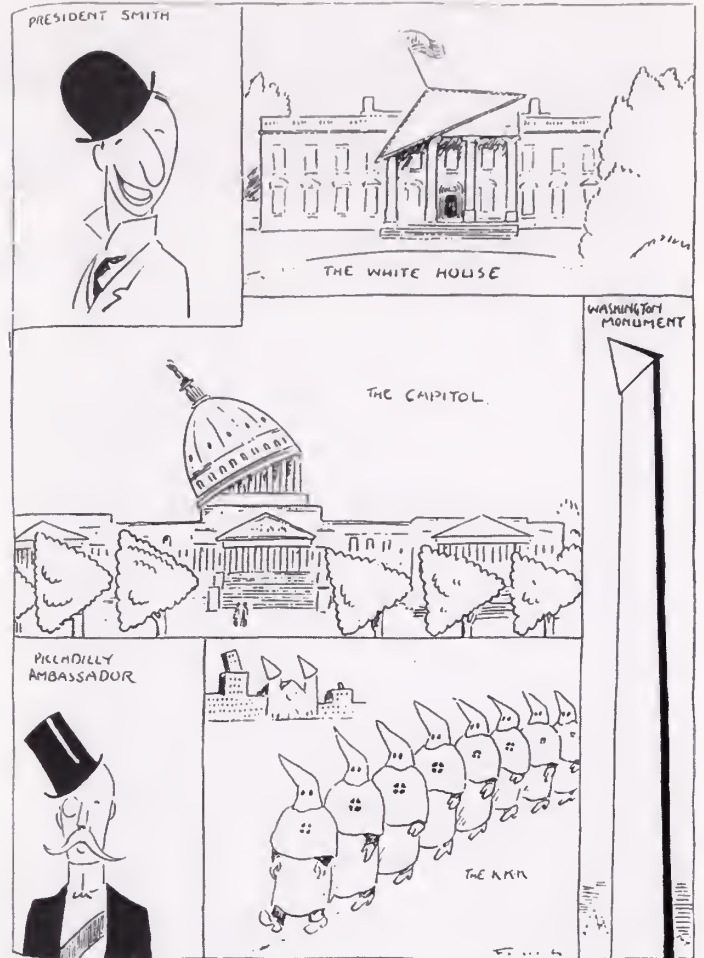
Eight years later, Smith broke with FDR and endorsed Alf Landon. He also supported Wendell Willkie in 1940. In both cases, Landon and Willkie supporters wore buttons that featured a picture of an old brown derby. No one needed an explanation; the brown derby meant Al Smith.★







The brown derby was still Al Smith's trademark years after he left political office, such as in this photo from a promotional event.



POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF AL SMITH ON THE NATIONAL CAPITAL



# Three Socialist Pinbacks: Following the Paper Trail

By Stephen Cresswell

We've all overheard this familiar bit of dialogue at a button show. The dealer, standing behind his table, tells the customer "I don't have any buttons of the candidate you collect, but I do have some paper items." Without bothering even to glance at the proffered items, the collector breezes on to the next table, saying "I don't collect paper." The truth is, most of us have uttered these words early in our collecting career, and a majority of us still would rather find buttons for our collections than even graphic posters or rare postcards.

Buttons have a great many advantages over paper. They are small, compact, and easily displayed. They are shiny, and often colorful. They are the very symbol of political campaigns. In comparison, it is often hard to get worked up about an eight-page black and white pamphlet.

For most of us, the interest in paper comes as our specialized collections become more complete. The buttons we still want appear only occasionally and often bear a hefty price. To avoid complete disappointment at the bourse and in auctions, we broaden our minds and begin to pick up candidates' cards, handbills, and posters. The good news is that while paper items are sometimes harder to display, and often less graphically exciting, they can provide a wealth of information for the collector interested in the history of campaigns. They can even provide information about buttons, as in the three examples accompanying this article.

The two Socialist Party items ("Socialists for Congress" and "60 after 60") both have been persistent mysteries in the hobby. From when and where did they come? What was their purpose? The third pin, the Socialist Workers' item, is a less-noticed button, but still is a bit mysterious. What year, whose campaign?

I spent a good many hours trying to figure out the "Socialists for Congress" button. With a beautiful graphic design by the Ohio Art Works Company, it has become one of the most desirable locals in the hobby. Most collectors noticed early on that the candidate on the left is Victor Berger—this is apparent by comparing his portrait with that on other items such as his "First Socialist Congressman" pin. But the identity of the second candidate was Ellis Harris, but the auctioneer conceded that this was an educated guess. Most dealers identified this local jugate as a "Wisconsin item."

This bothered me. In the Socialist party's heyday, there were always far more than two congressional candidates in Wisconsin. Why would the state's Socialist party pick out

just two of its congressional candidates to support with a button? I began to think this might even be a nationally-issued button, to be used for all Socialist candidates, with Berger and the other fellow there just as "examples." I compared the picture of Berger's friend to photos of several dozen noted party leaders, but to no avail. Finally, I was reading a book about the Socialist party in various cities, and read about Victor Berger's first victorious congressional race in Milwaukee. The book noted that from Milwaukee's other congressional district, a second Socialist candidate nearly won election as well. Ha! If Milwaukee had exactly two congressional districts, perhaps this was the key. A quick check in the *Historical Atlas of U.S. Congressional Districts* confirmed that Milwaukee in the Socialists' heyday had exactly two congressional districts. I made it my working hypothesis that this button was issued by the Milwaukee Socialists for their two congressional candidates.

After all this work, I happened to hear a fellow third-party collector refer to this as a Milwaukee item. So at least one other collector had gone through some of these same thought processes and reached the same conclusions. But even if we accepted that Milwaukee was the political home of this button, we still did not know just when the button was made, nor the identity of the mysterious would-be congressman on the right. The "when" was especially problematical because Victor Berger ran for congress in ten general elections between 1904 and 1928. As for the identity of the other person pictured on this jugate, the answer was muddled by the fact that Berger had five different "running mates" (from the other Milwaukee district) in his various races.

Going to *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U.S. Elections*, I found that Berger and a candidate named Winfield R. Gaylord ran from Milwaukee's two districts in 1904, 1910, 1912, and 1914. Gaylord came within about 400 votes of victory in both 1910 and 1914. I was pleased at what I found in the reference books, and Gaylord's strong races made me think he was the most likely person represented in the portrait on the right. Still, this was not certain identification, since in other years other Socialists took Gaylord's place on the ballot. Could we be certain this button dated from 1904, 1910, 1912, or 1914? I made a note to myself to try to find a copy of Milwaukee's Socialist newspapers on microfilm, and look for a photo of Gaylord. As it turned out, that wouldn't be necessary.

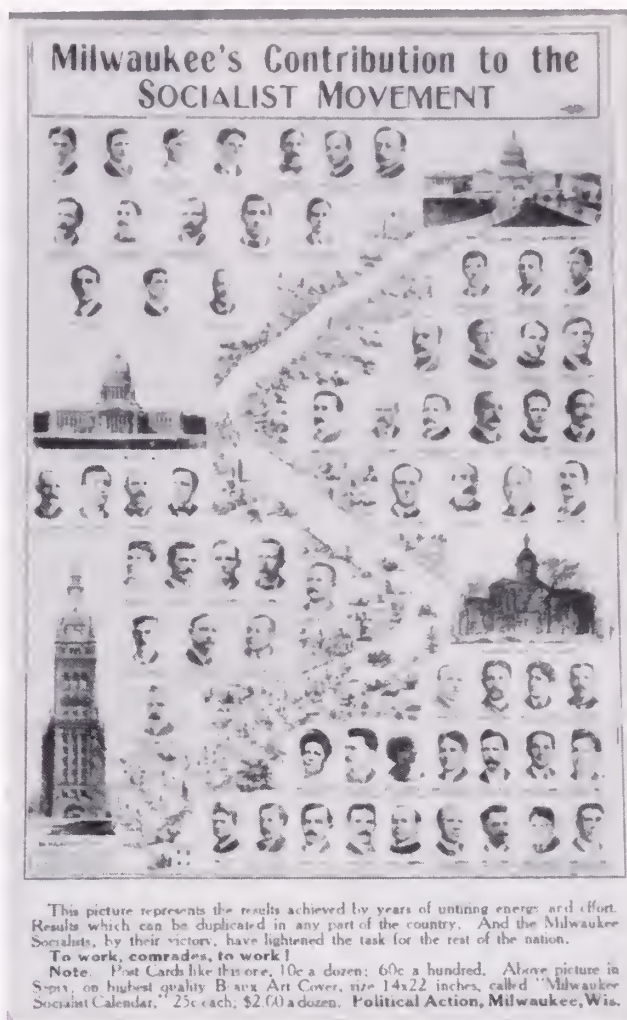
At the APIC national in St. Louis, a dealer offered me a postcard issued by the Milwaukee Socialists. He had



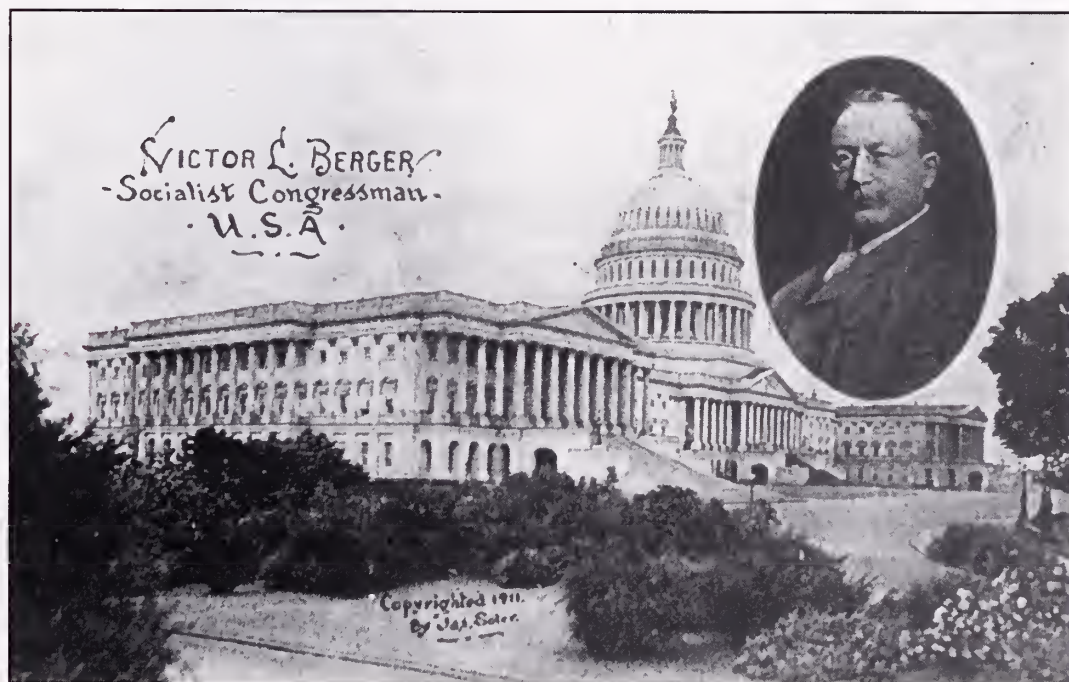
shown it to me twice before, over the last two or three years, but I had turned it down because it wasn't cheap and it wasn't a button. This time, though, I was quick to purchase it. The postcard pictured (with tiny portraits) 65 men and women elected as Socialists to various Milwaukee offices. There on the postcard was Winfield R. Gaylord, who had once won election to the state Senate. I recognized him right away as the man on the button, having noticed previously that the mysterious candidate looked a little like George Bush—as did Gaylord on this postcard! Later, careful comparison of the Socialists for Congress button and the Milwaukee postcard confirmed the identification.

Then there is the "60 after 60" button. I wish I had a dollar for every time I have seen this button identified as a 1960 item at shows and in catalogs. It would make no sense for this to be a 1960 item, since the Socialist Party was no longer active in running candidates in 1960. I did find a few dealers who had the same idea I did—that this must be some kind of pension slogan. Surely it meant sixty dollars per month, after age sixty. But from when and where did this button originate? Once again, it was a paper item that held the key. In this case, it was a series of Socialist newspapers from Reading, Pennsylvania, that I was able to purchase at auction. The party successfully elected a number of candidates in Reading in the 1930s.

The newspapers revealed that in 1938, the slogan used by the Reading candidates for the state Legislature was "Sixty After Sixty." The Socialists even had a special office set up in Reading as the Sixty After Sixty Headquarters. As suspected, the slogan was an old-age pension slogan. What surprised me was the late date—1938, after Franklin Roosevelt's Social Security system had started. But the Socialists criticized Social Security for being miserly in its payments, and for leaving out whole classes of people such as domestic help, house painters, and farm workers.

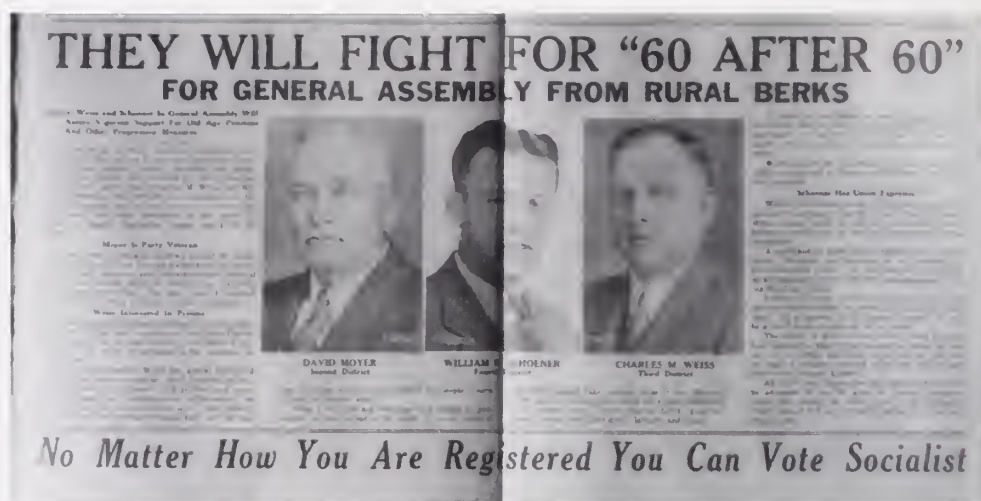


Two postcards and two buttons: one postcard (above) celebrates the Socialist Movement in Milwaukee, Wisconsin while the other (below) honors Milwaukee's Socialist Congressman Victor L. Berger.





Unusual 1966 SWP button (above) and 1938 SP newspaper (right) from Reading, Pennsylvania.



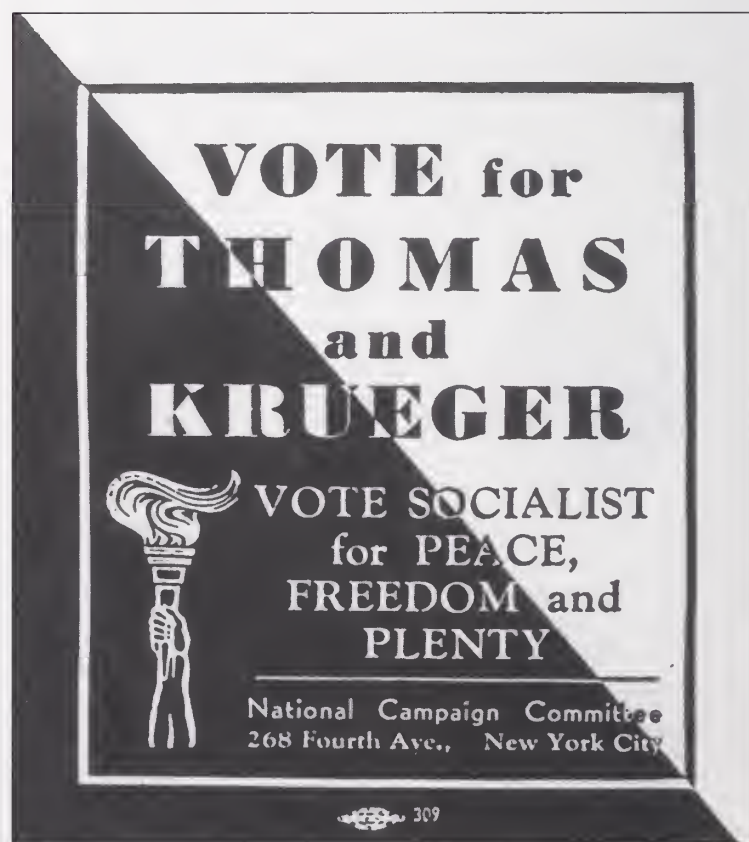
The Socialist legislative candidates vowed to guarantee every Pennsylvanian an adequate pension. I still need to find out whether the “60 after 60” slogan was used in other Pennsylvania localities, but it is clear from these newspapers that the movement originated in Reading, and we can be certain the date was 1938. As an added bit of poetic justice, I should add that the “60 after 60” button was made in Reading by the Keystone Badge Company.

Interest in Socialist Workers’ party items has always been mild, perhaps because you need a magnifying glass to read their vote totals. Yet I’ve always been interested in the slogan button illustrated here, that says “Vote to Bring the G.I.’s Home from Viet Nam.” The slogan strikes me as odd because it is so wordy. Most Vietnam protest buttons just say something like “Troops Home Now.” It is almost as if this button had to explain—that our troops were in Vietnam. Also, the spelling of Vietnam with two words was unusual, almost as if this southeast Asian nation wasn’t yet a household word. Yet when I checked the button against my APIC library, I found it in “Project ‘68” as an item for the Halstead presidential ticket. If it was a 1968 item, it was from the mainstream of antiwar protests, and my earlier hunches had been wrong. On the other hand, it was possible there was an error in the 1968 project.

Several years ago I invested a few dollars in an old copy of a world almanac. While buying books is not always as much fun as buying buttons, I was impressed by the almanac’s 928 pages of tiny print, including the votes of each state for all presidential candidates since 1936, and selected party platforms. At some point I noticed a “Perpetual Calendar” in this almanac. This is simply a collection of fourteen calendars, with a key telling which calendar goes with which year. I scanned the calendars to see which years had November 8 (the election day listed on the button) as a Tuesday. The only years of the 1960s or 1970s that matched the button’s election date were 1960, 1966, and 1977. In 1960 there were no U.S. combat soldiers in Vietnam, while by 1977 our troops were home. Thus this button dates

from 1966, and is a congressional item for the SWP. The year 1966 was early in the antiwar protests, thus the unusually wordy slogan and the non-standard spelling of Vietnam as two words.


Collecting paper items can help us reconstruct the campaigns that we are interested in. Even those who are hopelessly addicted to buttons can use paper items to help identify the buttons. I’ve certainly learned my lesson. When the man at the table leans forward and says that he has some paper items I might be interested in, I invariably reply, “Bring them on!”★



Socialist Party Sticket



Wm. Robertson




SOCIALIST CANDIDATES

ARE

**Unfettered Men**

Howard Siegfried




SOCIALIST CANDIDATES

ARE FREE FROM

**Gang Domination**

Emlen Royer



**STANDING FOR THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS**

Is the Record of the First Socialist Representative.

**CONTINUE THE GOOD WORK BY**

**ELECTING ROBERTSON, SIEGFRIED AND ROYER.**

Vote the Socialist Ticket Straight!

CLOSE COVER BEFORE STRIKING MATCH

**CONGRESS**

FOR

**HOFSES**

**RAYMOND S.**

Vote for Socialism!

No Half Measures

**Vote Straight Socialist**

*The Times Demand*

**NORMAN THOMAS**

for President

**TUCKER P. SMITH**

for Vice President

**VOTE SOCIALIST**

SUPERIOR MATCH CO., CHICAGO, U.S.A.

SUPERIOR MATCH CO., CHICAGO, U.S.A.

61

**ELECT**

**CITY COUNCIL**

J. Gordon McLean

Alfred E. Eckenrode

**SCHOOL BOARD**

Hazelte M. Hoopes

Theodore Bricker

Harry M. Longenecker

**VOTE STRAIGHT**

**SOCIALIST**

**This Year Elect**

**STUMP**

**WITH**

**POWER**

**VOTE**

**STRAIGHT SOCIALIST**

CLOSE COVER BEFORE STRIKING MATCH

CLOSE COVER FOR SAFETY

61

**SOCIALIST**

Vote

**SOCIALIST**

**SERVICE**

**KEEP**

**VOTE SOCIALIST**



**Re-Elect**

**MAYOR STUMP**

Superior Match Co., Chicago

# Them Damned Pictures

Reviewed by Michael Kelly

*Them Damned Pictures (Explorations in American Political Cartoon Art)* by Roger A. Fischer. Published 1996 by Archon Books, an imprint of The Shoe String Press, North Haven, Connecticut 06473.

When Thomas Nast—probably the most influential cartoonist in American history—began attacking William M. Tweed in cartoons, the Tammany Hall boss ordered his minions to “Stop them damned pictures.” He explained that, “I don’t care so much what the papers say about me. My constituents can’t read. But, damn it, they can see pictures.” It is the impact of those political cartoons that is the subject of *Them Damned Pictures (Explorations in American Political Cartoon Art)* by Roger A. Fischer.

Dr. Fischer’s contributions to the realm of Political Americana were substantial long before the release of his latest book. Aside from serving for many years as editor of *The Keynoter* and as a member of the APIC Board of Directors, Fischer is the author of one of the field’s few serious scholarly works (*Tippecanoe and Trinkets Too: The Material Culture of American Presidential Campaigns*, (University of Illinois Press, 1988). He also co-authored *American Political Ribbons and Ribbon Badges* (Quarterman Publications, 1985) with Dr. Edmund Sullivan.

A Professor of History at the University of Minnesota-Duluth, Roger Fischer was chairman of the university history department and director of its American studies program for many years. His books and many *Keynoter* articles reflect the academic rigor of his research. In fact, his chapter on Nast corrects a widely published error regarding “Boss” Tweed’s middle name and points out that, despite Nast’s virulent anti-Catholicism, the cartoonist had actually been born and baptized a Catholic in his native Bavaria. The story that Fischer reveals about Tweed’s name is that Nast had labeled the political boss William “Marcy” Tweed to tie him to an earlier political boss, William L. Marcy (famous for the comment “to the victor belongs the spoils”). Tweed’s real name is William Magear Tweed but almost every dictionary, textbook, and biographical

compendium lists his name as William Marcy Tweed, a reflection of Nast’s power.

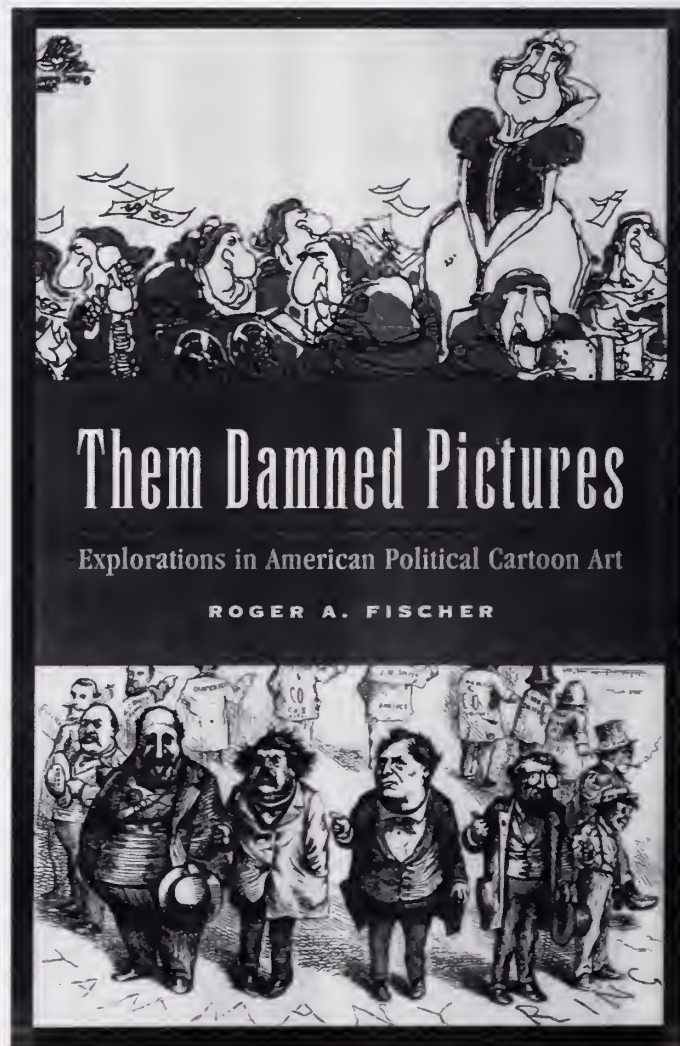
Fischer’s work is billed as “explorations in American political cartoon art.” He does not attempt a comprehensive cataloging of political cartoons or cartoonists. Rather, he chooses to explore several specific themes within the field. He spends much time with Thomas Nast, using that era of powerful political cartooning to examine the techniques of caricature that turned a moderately powerful machine politician into the symbol of rapacious political corruption known as “Boss” Tweed of the “Tweed Ring.”

Fischer writes that Nast “elevated caricature in American cartooning to a genuine art form and a deadly political weapon by his metamorphosis of Tweed’s hulking but benign, even dignified, visage into the embodiment of unbridled greed and autocratic arrogance waxing fat upon a helpless citizenry.” The essential symbolic nature of cartooning is a recurrent theme of the various essays that compose *Them Damned Pictures*. He cites its power for good (as in Nast’s attack on civic corruption) or evil (as in the same artist’s intense religious prejudice) but, most important, illuminates the way it works.

Fischer’s essay on how cartoonists of various stripes used the



“Richard Milhous Roosevelt” by Steve Benson of the *Arizona Republic* blends images by contrasting an embattled Watergate-era Nixon with FDR.







The powerful cartoon art of Thomas Nast is evident in these two examples. "Who Stole The People's Money?" (Above) shows how Nast focused on the portly William Tweed to symbolize civic corruption. Nast's anti-Catholicism is evident in "The American River Ganges," which portrays noble American schoolchildren endangered by the sinister forces of the Catholic Church. It was a powerful image that harmed the many Catholic immigrants coming to America.





first U.S. Senator elected on the Populist Party ticket, Sen. William A. Pepper of Kansas, as a symbol of wild radicalism and scheming ambition is a classic example of media inaccuracy. Those who met him described him as "a gentleman of a mild and benevolent countenance, of engaging manners, and of a gentle and persuasive voice." Readers of cartoons saw "either a dull dimwit or a rustic Rasputin."

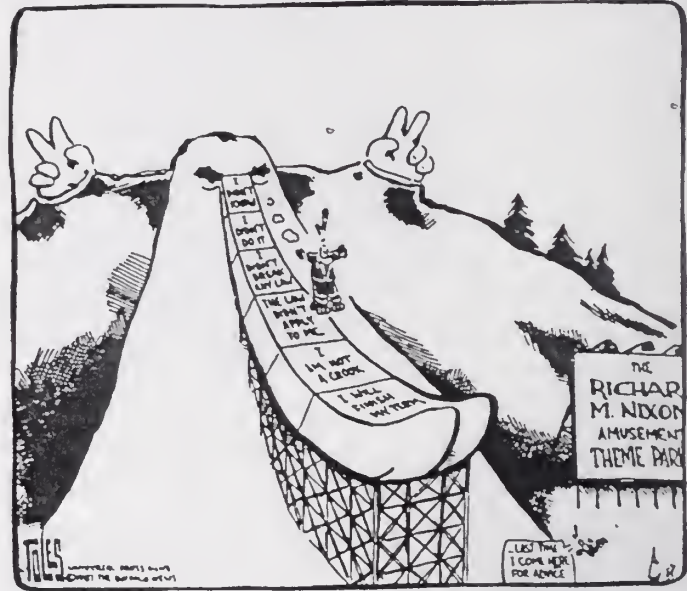
Fairness has not always been a mark of political cartooning but Fischer's essays reveal much about their power to create perceptions. He also notes how cartoonists use fundamental American images like the State of Liberty or Abraham Lincoln. He traces the evolution of certain cartoon images, such as Richard Nixon's famous declaration, "I am not a crook," through many years of use. One cartoon pictures House Speaker Jim Wright waving "V for Victory" signs with both hands and insisting "I am not a crook!" while another shows Michael Dukakis making the same gesture and proclaiming, "I am not a liberal!" Another series of cartoons shows *Detroit News* cartoonist Draper Hill quoting a famous Nast anti-Tweed cartoon to highlight corruption by Detroit Mayor Coleman Young. A later Hill cartoon repeats the Tweed symbol and combines it with Nixon's "I am not a crook" for good measure.

Political cartoons have long been a part of American politics. They are some of the most obtainable and affordable items to be collected from pre-1896 campaigns. It isn't hard for a collector to find a Thomas Nast cartoon from *Harper's Weekly* about the campaign of 1868 or 1872. Covers of such cartoon weeklies as *Judge*, *Puck* or *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly* make splendid display pieces at a fraction of the cost of buttons or badges from the same era.

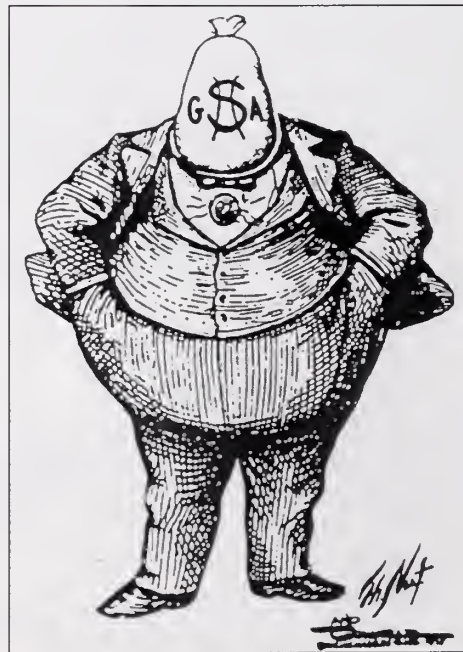
More to the point, Roger Fischer has useful perspectives on the field of American political cartoons which fill his book with good analysis and good history. It's also a fine read with plenty of those caustic comments for which the good professor is noted. My personal favorite appears in his essay about how cartoons dehumanized certain Americans such as Blacks, Irish and Native Americans. In a discussion about pre-Civil War agitation for Free Labor, Fischer comments that "for a generation or more after Appomattox, this work ethic remained a hal-  
lowed American ideal, until it was corrupted into a success ethic by the Industrial Revolution and later in the 1950s by the

personality and positive-thought perversions of Norman Vincent Peale and Dale Carnegie." One does not always have to agree to enjoy the sharp cut of a keen mind.

*Them Damned Pictures* is a substantive and useful book about an aspect of the political campaign that is rarely analyzed, despite being universally seen. Thomas Nast's cartoon surely caused Tammany Hall to lose more than one election. Still today, there is no doubt that the daily flow of cartoons on newspaper and fax machine plays an important role in our nation's political dialogue.★

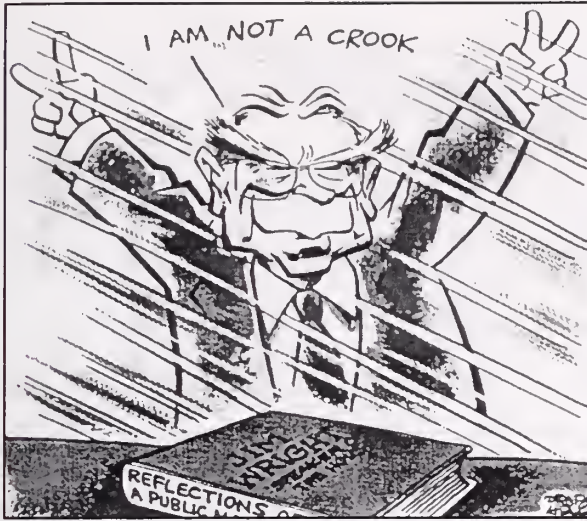


Top of this and next page: a recurring image beloved by cartoonists is Richard Nixon proclaiming "I am not a crook!" Tom Toles of Buffalo News compares Ronald Reagan to Nixon, House Speaker Jim Wright is portrayed by Draper Hill of Detroit News and Michael Dukakis is drawn by the Copley News Service's Dennis Ramirez. The comic strip format uses the "crook" refrain against President and Mrs. Clinton. Below a Nast image is quoted by modern cartoonists.



From left to right: an original Nast caricature of "Boss Tweed," Paul Conrad of Los Angeles Times uses the same image to hammer corruption on the federal level, Draper Hill uses the same to attack civic corruption by Detroit Mayor Coleman Young and again for state level corruption. The Draper Hill cartoon on the lower far left combines the old Thomas Nast image with Nixon's "crook".





# LUNA BEACH By Carl Moore



## WORDS TO LIVE BY:

\*He's making the price of running against him so high, no one will try it."

— June Roselle  
CIVIC CENTER DIRECTOR

"...Frankly, I don't give a damn what the newspapers and TV say."

— Mayor Young



APPROLOGIES  
TO  
Thomas  
Nast.







He attends to Santo Domingo



He hands Mr. Castro a few



He jumps on the Senate



He writes on the race question



He lands on Standard Oil



He attends a banquet



He superintends the preparations for inauguration day



He passes a hot message to the Senate

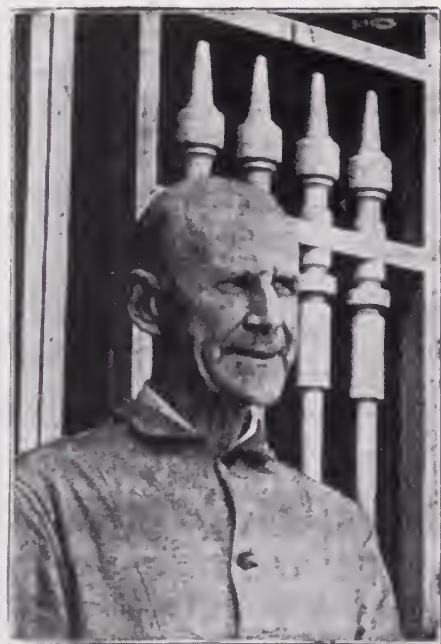


He pauses a moment to make plans for a hunting trip

ONE OF MR. ROOSEVELT'S QUIET DAYS



# Eugene V. Deb's

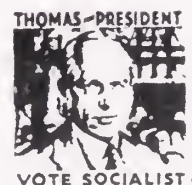
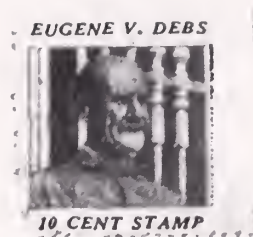


## Canton Speech



PRICE TEN CENTS

Published by the  
**Socialist Party of the United States**  
2418 West Madison Street  
CHICAGO



This nice selection of Socialist Party items includes Debs and Thomas. Jasper McLevy was the multi-term mayor of Bridgeport, Connecticut while Charles Russell ran for Governor of New York in 1910 and 1912.

